

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 674

May 27, 1949

THREEPENCE

## QUAKERS AND CONSCRIPTION

### Yearly Meeting reaffirms Friends' opposition

#### "FRIENDLY CONTACT" WITH COMMUNISTS URGED

THE Society of Friends Yearly Meeting, which was held in London on May 20-23, strongly re-affirmed the Quakers' traditional opposition to war, asserted their continued responsibility for opposing Conscription, expressed disapproval of the Atlantic Pact as evidence of a menacing division among nations, and called upon the Government to urge the French Government to recognise Conscientious Objection in France.

It further urged "friendly contact" with Communists, in order to further international confidence by a better understanding of the Russian mind.

At the close of the meetings the Society's deliberations on these questions were summarised in the following Minutes:—

#### 1. Christian principles and Conscription

"CONSCRIPTION in peace time is still a live issue, and so long as it remains part of the law of the land we have a continuing responsibility for proclaiming it to be wrong because it is contrary to Christian principles.

"It is still laid on us to help young people, through conferences and in other ways, to think deeply and honestly and to arouse the conscience of all who are in any way concerned with the welfare of youth both inside and outside the Churches.

"In this task we must continually fit ourselves to be God's messengers, praying earnestly and humbly for His help in catching the hearts of our fellow men."

#### 2. Conscientious objection in France

"FRIENDS in France are deeply troubled at the situation in their country where Conscientious Objection to military conscription is not recognised.

"It is suggested that our Government shall be asked to draw the attention of the French Government, as a partner in Western Union, to the importance of recognising Conscientious Objection: in doing this we should make clear our fundamental conviction that conscription is wrong."

#### 3. Atlantic Pact a threat of disaster

A MINUTE adopted by a joint session of the Peace Committee and the Industrial and Social Order Council expressed, "The Duty of our Society in a Divided World."

"As we have thought fit," it says, "to discern the duty of our Society in the divided world of today, and our individual answers to the perplexing problems which confront us, we have been reminded that though we live in a time of crisis it is not a time of despair."

The Minute further asserts that friends regard the Atlantic Treaty as "evidence of growing division which may end in disaster."

It adds that if they are to call upon others to "accept the Christian alternative—the abandonment of carnal weapons"—their lives as individuals must "bear witness to our belief that the worst catastrophe cannot deprive us of the love and peace of God."

Finally, the Minute emphasised the Christian duty of maintaining friendly relations with all people, irrespective of political antagonisms.

Closer companionship of each individual with God, it asserts, will "help us to build up right relationships with our fellows and to foster the positive faith that men with the help of God can remake the world." It concludes:

"We should seek to come into friendly contact with those who profess Communism here at home, and so help towards an understanding of the Russian mind and towards the building of confidence between nations, which is the essential in the making of peace."

## War Crime Trials again attacked in Lords

MORE criticisms of the War Crimes Trials were made in the House of Lords last week.

The debate on the Japanese War Crime Trials followed a fortnight after a debate on the German Trials. Lord Hankey was once again prominent in condemning the way they had been staged.

He was particularly concerned at the sentencing of Mamoru Shigemitsu, a former Japanese Ambassador to Britain, to seven years imprisonment.

Lord Hankey countered the Lord Chancellor's upholding of the sentence by pointing out that Mr. Shigemitsu, as a civil Minister for Foreign Affairs, was powerless to influence the War Office on the subject of the ill-treatment and torture of PoWs.

"He worked for peace."

The Netherlands Justice at the Tokyo Trials had given it as his opinion that "The evidence laid before this Tribunal reveals Shigemitsu as a diplomatist and statesman who worked for peace rather than for war... (he) should be acquitted on all charges brought against him."

Lord Hankey did not think that Mr. Shigemitsu could have been expected, as the Tribunal suggested, to resign from office if his requests for an examination of the treatment of PoWs was ignored.

"What good would that have done in a country like Japan? In Japan, resignation would have been treated as a cowardly desertion of his country in time of war and would have prevented his pursuing his main object, to bring the war to an end."

"His efforts for peace failed; how could they succeed in view of our policy of 'unconditional surrender'?"

"Nevertheless, a few months later, Shigemitsu, at the risk of his life—it was the second time he had risked his life for peace—signed the surrender on behalf of the Emperor and the Government."

Lord Hankey, winding up the debate in an almost empty House, said that the Lord Chancellor's speech showed that he entirely overlooked the fact that responsibility for all the admittedly horrible tortures inflicted on the PoWs rested with "Tojo, that tough soldier, and with the people working under him," and not with Shigemitsu.

"Shigemitsu was a Foreign Minister, a contemptible civilian who could not get at the facts; and, even if he could get at the facts, he had no official duty, except to act as a post office. That was his official duty—to receive the protests and to pass them to the appropriate departments, where they were handled by the PoW committee presided over by Tojo, who had all powers of decision."

## NON-STOP PICKETING AT LABOUR EXCHANGE

### Conscription protest by London pacifists

PICKETS at the Holloway Labour Exchange (N. London) last Saturday found very little opposition and considerable sympathy for the pacifist viewpoint during a seven-hour demonstration.

The picketing was accompanied by a continuous open-air meeting and Peace News selling.

Speakers laid stress on the fact that there was growing evidence that military training was harmful to the youth of this country.

Rev. Claud Colman of Weigh House Church, who spoke also as a father whose son was that day being called upon to register, told of a father who asked his son, who was on leave from military training, what he had learnt in the Army.

"I have spent the last month learning five different ways of killing a man in sixty seconds without anything in my hands," was the reply which rather shocked the Christian parent.

The father had a greater shock a few hours later, said the speaker, for out on the lawn he saw his younger son, a fourteen-year-old boy, being instructed by the conscript in "five different ways of killing a man in sixty seconds without anything in my hands."

Sybil Morrison attracted the largest crowd of passers-by with her plea for people to wake up to the realisation of the way in which many young men in this country were being brutalised and demoralised by army life.

Kenneth Trueman spoke as a conscientious objector, as also did Tony Bradshaw and Geoffrey Thompson.

#### Homes cannot be defended

Hugh Brock put the case of a father faced with the problem of defending his family in a country at war or facing the threat of war.

"I do not believe I can preserve my family from harm by going into the Armed Forces," he said. "I refused to take part in the last war because, among other things, I did not think I could stop my own children being bombed. The only thing I could have done was to bomb the homes of the common people of another country."

"The political situation today may seem overwhelming and make any individual efforts appear hopeless, nevertheless I urge you not to participate in war preparation, for by just that much will there be more peace in the world."

Pacifists from many parts of London supported the demonstration and many thousands of leaflets were handed out in a very busy thoroughfare.

## W.U.P.O. TO MEET IN SWITZERLAND

THE World Union of Peace Organisations has issued the first notice of its International Conference to be held at St. Cergue, Switzerland, from September 7 to 13.

The Conference, the chief purpose of which is to bring together representatives of the major international and national organisations concerned for the joint consideration of current peace problems, will discuss three main themes:

(1) World Resources and World Needs.  
(2) War Preparation and Human Survival and

(3) World Morality and World Order. Introductory speakers are expected to include Lord Boyd-Orr, Mr. M. V. Kostelky, Prof. R. E. Peierls, Prof. Edmond Privat and Dr. Evghery Lampert.

Enquiries and applications to attend will be welcomed from organisations and individual visitors, and should be addressed to the Secretary, St. Cergue Conference, 1 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

#### What's the matter with his chin?

(See book review, page 3.)



## Labour minority oppose Pact

—Emrys Hughes, MP

IN voicing a protest against the Atlantic Pact, last week, Emrys Hughes MP, said that he spoke for a small critical minority within the Labour Party.

He was giving the fifth address in the National Peace Council's series of public lunch-hour meetings on Britain's Foreign Policy.

His talk was mainly about the Atlantic Pact. He thought it was an interesting reflection on our democracy that the only Parliamentary discussion of the Pact before it was signed took place on a Friday afternoon when most members with Welsh or Scottish constituencies were travelling to them.

"The Atlantic Pact," he said, "should be at least as exhaustively discussed as the Licensing Bill."

#### COST? NO ONE KNOWS

When he put down a question asking what financial obligations Britain would be incurring under the Atlantic Pact, he was told that it was premature to ask. Emrys Hughes was of the opinion that no-one knew.

With international Pacts, national armaments bills always went up—not down. Sir Stafford Cripps had already said that Britain might have to increase her expenditure on arms. The Foreign Secretary had said the precise opposite which indicated a state of complete confusion.

He emphasised that if the Pact was successful in keeping peace, he would be extremely glad.

#### AN OBVIOUS MENACE

But what was likely to be the effect of the Pact on Russia. Emrys Hughes thought Russia would feel that, as the Western Powers believed a country was not respected without force, "she" had better increase her military strength.

The fact that all Britain's new bombers were long distance bombers could hardly be unnoticed in the Kremlin.

He ended his lively and sobering address by quoting some figures to show the costliness of modern war, both in the expense of the equipment and the fact that it was so soon out-of-date.



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## PARADOX

IF pacifist teaching is to be effective, it must take into more careful account just why it is that most people acquiesce so readily in war preparations.

This can't be called "war-mindedness" in the old sense of the term, though that complaint does still exist in odd corners.

Recently the Observer quoted a story of how Mr. Churchill, while touring America, was invited to visit Yorktown. He refused, saying, "I will not go to a place which witnessed the most humiliating defeat in British history."

In this sad case of a poor fellow who still feels a pain in the prestige from a battle lost nearly two centuries ago, we have an example of war-mindedness of the true and ancient vintage. But that sort of thing is now an anachronism—a hangover from an early period, like a woolly rhinoceros that has somehow got into the cowshed.

People no longer admire war for its own sake. We believe those pacifists are mistaken who say that the primary purpose of pacifist teaching is to compel people to see the horrors of war. The people already know all about that. They continue to support war only because they don't know how to do without it. They fear it as never before, but believe in it more firmly than ever.

That is the paradox, and the modern dilemma. It is therefore little use for pacifists to go on repeating, "None of the nations wants war," as if that were a reason why they could easily be persuaded to refuse to prepare for it.

For the thing which men most firmly believe in, and in which they put their trust as the ultimate safeguard of all they value most, is something they hate and fear.

It is a quaint religion, but it is not a new one. Plenty of people, from Calvinists to Cannibals, have put their faith in what they are most afraid of.

Nevertheless, it is a genuine faith. General Patterson was quite sincere when he said, "Weakness is the safe path to war." He was expressing that almost universal faith that those who live by the sword would perish by the olive branch.

For that reason we have to distinguish between fear of war and disbelief in it, or we shall make no impression on those who support it. After World War One there was a spate of books and plays about the horror and futility of war, and many pacifists mistook it for pacifist propaganda. It was nothing of the sort, but only war-weariness. Most of those who wrote it and approved of it went on believing in the regrettable necessity of war, and flocked to the support of the next and worse one.

The world goes nearly all the way with us. It boggles at the last step. It stops short at the ethical pons asinorum—that awkward bit of natural law which identifies means with ends. It is the inexorable working of that law on which our pacifist teaching should concentrate.

### IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WCI

### The neglected question

OF the two possible calamities facing the world—war and economic collapse—the latter is in one important respect the more probable. We refer particularly to the food shortage.

We say more probable because public opinion is far more concerned with war than with the economic situation. Most people know quite a lot about war; their minds dwell frequently upon it and upon what it would be like. They are war-conscious. For that reason, efforts to prevent a world war are more likely to have popular support than efforts to prevent a world food shortage.

The serious aspect of the world's food situation is that the vast majority of people are abysmally ignorant of it, and what is more, their ignorance is encouraged. And although at the moment Britain is better fed and has a higher standard of living than almost all other countries, on a long-term outlook its food situation is one of the most precarious.

### British ignorance

IT is hard to believe that any other people in the world or in history are as ignorant about food (both as to where it comes from and what to do with it when it arrives) as the English. First nation to be industrialised, they are further removed, physically and spiritually, from their own soil than any other people, and from any understanding of their natural relation to it.

Most of them appear to be still living under the delusion that this nation can live by manufacturing goods for export, which is probably the greatest economic mistake any nation ever made. They are still a long way from realising the truth that, in a world lacking international co-operation, country's economic stability depends mainly on the degree to which it can feed itself.

It is therefore fairly easy for any energetic propagandist to exploit this ignorance for political ends, and switch popular attention away from fundamental economic realities to some trivial Party quarrel about current administration.

Thus it is now possible for a well-known journalist to tell a public meeting, as Mr. Wentworth Day recently told a Conservative gathering at Marlow without raising a laugh, that in order to weaken the nation's resistance to its totalitarian policy, the Government are deliberately keeping the people short of food.

### A newspaper record

PROPOS, it is doubtful whether English journalism has ever sunk to a lower moral level than that of the current Daily Express campaign against the Food Ministry. For over a year it has kept up a

parrot-like reiteration that there is enough food in the world for everybody and that our difficulties in this country are due to nothing but official incompetence.

We would not suggest extending wartime Press censorship to the economic crisis, and suppressing a newspaper for spreading statements calculated to cause starvation. But if we are going to justify absolute liberty of the Press, we must give increasing attention to the compensating process of adult education. If we are going to defend the citizen's right to take poison every morning, we really should give some thought to the study of antidotes.

In case the Express really is as ignorant of the food supply as it pretends to be, we will refrain from putting it in the moral category to which we suspect it belongs, and satisfy ourselves by classifying this sort of propaganda as "an all-time low."

### The two campaigns

MEANWHILE there is something fantastic in the contrast between the two campaigns at present being conducted in relation to the world's food supply.

On the one hand is a great organ of publicity steadily trying to persuade the British people that there's nothing wrong with the world's food situation except Strachey. On the other hand is Sir John Boyd Orr, trying even harder to convince them that the world is not producing enough food to feed its people and that unless something drastic and revolutionary is done now, the present generation will see a food crisis comparable in its effects with a world war.

Up-to-date, The Express is beating Sir John. This, however, is probably not due to any inability on the part of the public to accept the idea of world co-operation in those activities in which independent national efforts are no longer adequate. It is 75 years since the International Postal Union was started, and people have got used to it, as to other international organisations like the Red Cross.

It is mostly due to the fact that national governments are so preoccupied with preparations to kill each other's populations that they have no time to work out schemes of feeding them. Which, after all, would be irrational. It's only cattle that we feed before we slaughter.

### Britain's diminishing sources

FOR people who can be persuaded to listen, the salient facts about Britain's food supplies are worthy of some notice.

In the main, what is happening is that the countries which used to send Britain food are now eating more of it themselves. The gradual re-distribution of income which is the feature of the present British econo-

mic situation, raising the average standard of living and decreasing the gap between rich and poor, is beginning to happen all over the world.

### Britain's weakness

"MOST of the food produced in the world," writes F. Le Gros Clark in Labour Research, "is consumed in the countries where it is produced. Considerably less than 10 per cent. of it has ever moved across national frontiers; and a very large proportion of that has hitherto come to Britain."

Giving examples, he says that Britain's normal pre-war demand accounted for 92 per cent. of the exported bacon, over 80 per cent. of the meat, over 50 per cent. of the cheese and about 20 per cent. of the vegetable oils.

Such figures give some idea of Britain's vulnerability, resulting from her century-old policy of agricultural neglect. In consequence, it only needs a fall in production elsewhere, or the finding of other than British markets by the producing countries for Britain to go short.

### The threat has begun

AND that is what threatens to happen. Alternative markets are emerging which will divert elsewhere former supplies to this country. A good example of this is the oil which is the raw material of our margarine and cooking fats. Before the war, 20 per cent. of this came from India; but with the determination of the new Indian Government to raise Indian standards of living at long last, that supply is unlikely to continue.

West African peoples are also stated to be consuming larger quantities of their own produce. The real, as distinct from the commercial, obstacle to our Argentine meat supply is that the Argentines are now eating very much more of their own meat.

Further, the increasing industrial populations of Poland, Hungary and Rumania are beginning to demand a more varied share of their native diet than their peasant fathers ever expected, with the result that the Eastern European produce, which formerly went to Scandinavia and appeared here in the transmuted form of bacon and butter, will be far less obtainable.

Finally, the increasing industrialisation of the British Dominions is rendering them rapidly less dependent upon British manufactured exports and weakening our purchasing power for their produce.

### Imperialist exploitation ending

ALL these developments may, of course, be regarded in some quarters as insolence on the part of foreigners thus to raise their standards of living at the expense of old-established plutocracies without asking permission—particularly as it so impolitely exposes the parasitic basis of great empires. But it is all part of the unavoidable modern tendency of the lower orders to get above themselves and apparently nothing can be done about it.

Others, however, may welcome these developments as marking the beginning of the end of imperialistic exploitation, which in the long run may benefit this country by compelling it to establish a balanced economy.

But it does bring home to us the fact that the British people has as urgent a need as any in the world of education in economic realities.

## 121

PAUL ROBESON sang at a Communist-sponsored peace meeting in Birmingham last weekend. A great crowd came to hear this fine artist, and Birmingham Peace News Committee staged one of their mass public sellings of the paper.

As a result 121 extra copies were sold. We send congratulations to the team who pulled off this success—and would like to remind readers and groups in all parts of the country that many such opportunities are now open to us. Selling Peace News outside public meetings is a valuable form of pacifist propaganda, results are often most encouraging and interesting contacts are made.

This is a work which individual readers can easily undertake, though a number of sellers is more impressive. Supplies of Peace News are sent on "sale or return," with free posters and give-away literature. Why not "have a go" some time? Such public work is an important part of our peace-making task.

Others who wish to help on the work in a different way are reminded of the Forward Fund.

### THE EDITOR

Contributions since May 13: £21 19s. 6d. Total for 1949: £246 1s. 10d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

T.R.D.

## RECENT PAMPHLETS

The Right Thing To Do, by Alex Comfort. Demy 8vo. 12 pp. (London: Peace News Ltd. 2d.)

THIS is the text of two talks, one broadcast and the other addressed to a PPU meeting, by the versatile young doctor who is a distinguished poet, author and research worker. They express the belief of an anarchist and agnostic that our moral sense only functions reliably in the type of relationship which exists between individuals. If we begin to "individualise" a group to which we belong, and transfer our responsibility from our neighbour to it, then our social sense shows increasing signs of breakdown.

Susan and the Witch, by Caroline C. Graveson. Cr 8vo 2 pp and cover. (London: Friends Home Service Committee 6d.)

To write a story for children which is interesting and convincing but yet has a plainly stated moral is very difficult. Though the language is occasionally a little too adult, this one, dealing with "that of God which is in every man," is almost entirely successful, and suitable for reading or giving to any child under ten. There is a great need for pamphlets written for, and attractive to, young people.

The Answer to Communism, by Douglas Hyde. Cr. 8vo. 80 pp. paper bound. (London: Paternoster Publications, 1s. 6d.)

This book is divided into two almost equal parts. In the first the author explains the growth, aims and methods of the Communist Party, of which he was for twenty years an active worker until his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1948. It contains no startling disclosures, nothing which is not commonly known or guessed, although it is,

of course, valuable as firsthand evidence. Considerable emphasis is put on the way in which "pacifists, humanists and all sorts of kindly people who hate war, are easily taken in" and used for Communist purposes.

The second part explains that only a living faith can combat the menace. Men and nations must choose between Communism and Christianity, and the *non sequitur* is added that "in practice this means between Communism and the Catholic Church." It is argued that what is required is a spiritual answer given effect by propaganda, organisation and Christian action, but reading it one feels that the only prophylactic needed is scrupulous honesty.

## Current Periodicals

Reconciliation, May 1949, 24pp and cover (London: Fellowship of Reconciliation. 6d.)

The principal article is a shrewd analysis by A. J. Muste, of the dilemma in which he found the Federal Council of Churches at a Study Conference held at Cleveland, Ohio, in March. There is also the first part of a valuable survey of The Contemporary German Scene by Corder Catchpool, who knows the country intimately.

Fraternitas, May 1949, Cr. fol. 4pp (Turin, Via Pio Quinto 15; Unione contro l'intolleranza religiosa e il razzismo.)

The latest issue of this Italian monthly bulletin, now in its fourth year, contains brief articles in English, French and German sending cordial greetings to all societies opposed to religious and racial intolerance.

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# 'Brotherhood' — real and artificial

"Impulses of adulation for remote and unknown heroes are indulged at the expense of everyday good nature," writes

**Hubert Butler**

continuing his discussion of pacifist problems in Ireland begun in a Peace News article on May 13.

"BROTHERHOOD" is one of those phrases, which, like "love of humanity," have by constant handling had all the meaning rubbed off them, and I use it with some diffidence.

Fichte, who has been praised as well as blamed for the rise of German nationalism, derided the cult of "Humanity" saying it was an empty phrase, a legacy from the polyglot, amorphous Roman Empire. Instead of the Latin abstraction, he offered the homely German one "Menschenfreundlichkeit." It referred to concrete men, people you know and see, and it was more akin to neighbourliness than to a thinly dispersed regard for all mankind.

Unfortunately "Menschenfreundlichkeit" in its concentrated form was to turn into rampaging nationalism, but Fichte's antithesis cannot be ignored. We all have in us a great capacity for disinterested affection for our fellows. We may waste it by diffusing it over the universe or by excess of concentration give it the explosive force of dynamite.

In Ireland, for example, we waste emotion in both directions. Nationalism has not yet lost its explosiveness, as is shown by the bitterness with which the partition issue is debated. In addition we squander passionate sympathy over remote parts of the earth about which our knowledge is very slight.

The chief instrument for the diffusion of this sentiment of brotherhood with unknown peoples is the Church. But brotherhood is little if it does not imply partisanship, in fact it is usually only when they are being persecuted that these remote Christian brothers lose a little of their anonymity and become real to us. Against a very black background they show up as white and the blacker the background the more distinguishable they are. At such a long range you can only love if you are prepared to hate as well. That perhaps is one reason why the churches preach peace with so many qualifications.

Millions of men are today united by the bond of faith, just as formerly they were united by the bond of Roman citizenship. Sympathy and love are always vibrating across the seas, deserts and mountains. It is a wonderful achievement, but just as light travels faster than sound, so does passion travel faster than knowledge.

By the time that genuine understanding arrives, travel-worn and breathless, the blaze of indignation that preceded it may have done irrevocable harm.

In fact love and sympathy, when they girdle the earth, lose much of that healing power, which they possess when they circulate among friends and neighbours.

## Spurious emotions

You will see that there is something unhealthy about it all, if you look at the facts. For example, twice in the past few years Ireland has been convulsed with spasms of fury at the humiliation suffered by high Roman prelates, first by the Primate of Yugoslavia, Stepinac, then by the Primate of Hungary, Mindszenty. I say spasms for this indignation at the sorrows of others is neither sustained nor characteristic of us. It is abnormal.

When the Belsen film was shown in Irish country towns it was usually thought British propaganda and in bad taste. In all seriousness a writer in my local paper declared that some particularly lean exhibits had plainly been collected by the British from their own prison camps in India and screened. Only the Beast of Belsen really caught on and a lady won a prize at our local fancy dress ball for impersonating him.

Clearly we are very selective in what we choose to find shocking. These gushes of emotion switch on and off like a public fountain; the main switch is controlled from the Vatican but there are subsidiary switches in Dublin. All the switches were turned off at the time of the Belsen revelations. We have no reserves of generous indignation and strict economy has to be practised.

Our government and all our public bodies, which were silent through the many cruelties of the war have all taken part in these protestations and telegrams, and as always indignation has far outstripped

knowledge or the desire for it. There is much wrath at the "enslavement" of National States whose independence we had previously only grudgingly admitted.

I remember how when Czechoslovakia was being raped, not by the Communists but by the Nazis, a mayor of Dublin expressed the opinion in public that the country was an invention of British propaganda. The fate of the Primate of Yugoslavia was deplored by thousands who had no notion where that country was.

## Terrorist becomes "martyr"

Yet I think the spurious character of all this emotion only became self-evident when recently our minister of Agriculture addressed a meeting of Law Students in Dublin. He reminded them of the fine example set by three great champions of Freedom of Thought and Freedom of Conscience, Stepinac, Mindszenty, Pavelic.

We need not raise the question whether Princes of the Roman church are often very sincere defenders of freedom of thought, but Pavelic is Pavelic, even when he is spelt wrong, a man who was regarded even by his allies as a monster of iniquity. It was he who organised the murder of King Alexander with the aid of Hungarian gangsters and Macedonian terrorists and was notorious over central Europe for his massacres, concentration camps and compulsory conversion campaign.

No doubt our Minister, Mr. Dillon, a humane but hasty man merely assumed that Pavelic must be a reputable figure because he was known to be against Communism. He must later have decided that his mistake was of no importance, for he did not withdraw.

These heroes of the religious Press are too often hallowed names, unreal and almost mythological figures. When the current is switched on and the veneration of millions is focussed on a man, though his soul is

## BOOK REVIEW

By OWLGLASS

# The Pyjamas of Peace

SOMEONE has sent me, for reasons not apparent, a booklet entitled, "The Army. The Modern Career." It is published by the War Office and "addressed to young men who have not yet served in the Army."

Whether I can be regarded as young is relative, and depends on whether the question is put to my barber or the Great Pyramid. But unless my memory serves me false I have never served in the Army, and may therefore qualify as an addressee.

At first glance, the outstanding feature of the book is the picture on the cover. It represents what is presumably a human face, and the outstanding feature of this face is its chin, which projects some distance beyond the other features, after the fashion adopted by the baboon.

This undeniably non-Pacifist Profile intrigues the imagination. One cannot avoid speculating whether the development of such markedly simian features is the result of military training, or whether it is an idealistic conception, intended to convey the author's opinion that an anthropoid or sub-human intelligence is the one best fitted for the job of mass liquidation.

FURTHER speculation is aroused by the title: What does the word "Modern" imply?

Historians tell me an army is no new thing. But I think it means the accent is on the "The." That is—whatever men of other ages have regarded as the most useful or profitable occupations, today the most important is the killing business.

This is, indeed, repeatedly corroborated by leading ecclesiastical and secular authorities, from whom we gather that we cannot be certain of preserving our civilisation, our religion or even our football pools unless we hold ourselves prepared at any moment to rub out several million other people very much like ourselves except that they made the initial mistake of having been conceived in sin and born on the wrong side of the iron curtain.

Sad to reflect, however, the supreme importance of killing is not sufficiently realised. With a moral irresponsibility due to careless upbringing and starchy diet, modern young men keep choosing other careers, as if one job's as good as another.

FOR this reason this book is produced, to set forth the attractions of military life and explain the function and purpose of the Army.

Mahatma Gandhi, by S. L. Polak, H. N. Brailsford & Lord Pethick-Lawrence, with an Introduction by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Odhams, 12s. 6d.

The Story Of My Experiments With Truth, an Autobiography, M. K. Gandhi. Phoenix Press. 21s. \*

GANDHI'S three biographers all had first-hand knowledge of their subject, and all are blessedly free from hagiolatry. Between them, they have produced an authoritative and intensely readable work, which is also a unique memorial to a unique personality—for it is surely without precedent for a political leader to ev

parched and cold it will glow like an asbestos pillar. Mindszenty, Stepinac, Pavelic, one name is as good as the other.

## Organised enthusiasm

But love and warmth that can be so easily misdirected are the wrong kind. There is much true generosity in Ireland and I hope I have not appeared to sneer or to suggest that the objects of all this organised enthusiasm were undeserving.

But I think that these impulses of adulation for remote and unknown heroes are indulged at the expense of everyday good nature. We have only a limited capacity for solicitude for others and, when it is wasted, our everyday life becomes bleak and small.

Should we then close our ears to those distant appeals to which our response must be so inadequate? One might say that, if we fostered brotherhood among ourselves, our example would be more valuable to other nations than any striving for international concord or understanding. That is probably true, but we have mixed our destinies with those of other people. Interchange of ideas, shared friendships are inevitable. How can we bring it about that such interchange breeds peace and not war?

Here, however, I must offer a word of criticism. It should have confined itself either to the Army's function, or to its attractions. Shown together, they are calculated to cause confusion.

Its function is stated with admirable clarity: "The peoples of the world are in desperate need of security. . . . Only when this security is established can the gigantic work of reconstruction go on. The British Army is one of the guarantors of peace."

Now, if the book would stop there (page one) its appeal would be irresistible. Unfortunately, it immediately proceeds to enumerate the Army's attractions, and the first we read is—"The Army is a steady job. At no time will the soldier be subject to 'laying off' owing to industrial depression."

THIS shake's one's confidence. It suggests that "security" by no means precludes industrial depression, and might even be defined as a permanent state of economic instability in which the Army is the only safe place.

Further doubts are raised by the assurance that—"The Army of the future will carry on the glorious traditions of the past."

Can any army carry on glorious traditions without more fighting? If not, what happens to that peace and security which the Army's very existence is supposed to guarantee?

Finally, further to the many advantages of military life we find the following eloquent passage:

"The world that lives in a soldier's memory is a good world. It is drenched with sunshine and rain . . . with friendship and with battle."

THE italics are mine, on loan from the printer. They are used to emphasise the fact that the author, at least, is by no means convinced that the Army is a guarantor of peace.

Why then, you ask, does he trouble to write a book containing contradictory and mutually exclusive statements?

I think it is because literary lapses and logical inconsistencies do not profoundly affect people whose faces consist mainly of jawbone.

Neither do they affect the attractions of army life. These are beyond question. "The soldier's comfort (I read) will receive every consideration. For instance, as soon as the supply position improves, it is proposed to issue pyjamas to the Army."

This may, of course, be one way of covering a soldier with glory.

# A NEW GANDHI BIOGRAPHY

Mr. Polak, who deals with the period up to Gandhi's return to India in 1914, is the most successful of the three. His narrative combines the personal with the public in exactly the right proportions.

To Mr. Brailsford fell the difficult task of covering the middle years, 1914-39—years so packed with incident and development that the task of selection must have been well-nigh impossible, and every reader is bound to have his own views on what ought or ought not to have been omitted.

The least successful is Lord Pethick-Lawrence, who seems to have thought that he was employed on a constitutional history of India from 1939-47.

## His quest

One has always to bear in mind that Gandhi's political experiments were never the most essential thing about him in his own eyes, whatever they may have been in others. This is made amply clear by the Autobiography, now happily available once more to English readers. At the very outset he writes:

"What I want to achieve—what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years—is self-realisation, to see God face to face, to attain Moksha. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this same end."

That was written in 1928, but it remained true to the last. It was the search for a way of life leading to "salvation"—and, inseparably, the attempt to launch others upon it—that governed Gandhi's personal austerities and public campaigns alike. Neither he nor they can be understood in any other perspective.

He never achieved his goal: and personally I believe that that whole mighty effort to "rise above the opposing currents of love and hatred, attachment and repulsion" by an exercise of the ethical will, was radically misconceived. It is heroic, but repugnant. For this reason, I find myself almost equally attracted and repelled by "The Story of my Experiments with Truth"—attracted by its candour and simplicity, repelled by its occasional priggishness. At the end, I reverted with relief to Blake's "Marriage of Heaven and Hell."

## Inflexible integrity

Nothing, however, can diminish one's admiration for the inflexible integrity with which Gandhi put his hypotheses to the proof: and it was precisely the cultivation of such integrity that he made his overriding concern. Hence his refusal to lose sight of the end in the means. He knew that no political reform would yield more morality than was put into it. Hence, also, his refusal to make the best enemy of the good. He would rather men did the wrong thing for the right reason than the right thing for the wrong.

Whilst his admirers, therefore, often claim that he abolished the old distinction between a way of life appropriate to the saint and a way appropriate to the ordinary man, in actual fact he re-asserted it. He would counsel a complete renunciation of property, yet lay down the precept that property should be used as a "trust"; he would counsel absolute non-violence, yet lay down the precept that violence be used justly. It is noticeable that this hero of the pacifist movement hardly ever spoke about peace: the touchstones of all his activity were "truthfulness" and "compassion."

This personal focus is what makes Gandhi so bewildering to politicians, and accounts for most of his apparent inconsistencies.

The biographer has yet to appear who, having entered into his standpoint, can reveal the unity underlying such manifold activities and pronouncements. Meanwhile, however, we can be genuinely grateful to the authors of *Mahatma Gandhi* for their admirably objective treatment, and to the publishers of the *Autobiography* for a classic that ought never to have been unprocurable.

F. A. LEA

\* Obtainable by PPU members at the specially reduced price of 17s. 6d.



# This is your page

## That word "Love"

IT is necessary to clear up some misunderstanding of the National Peace Council's recent Peace Aims Conference, which is clearly evident both from Don Alwyn's report of it and from subsequent correspondence.

First, it should be noted that the title was, "The things that make for peace in human relations." The *subsidiary* title was, "The psychological requirements of One World," and was introduced to emphasise the methods of the week-end, which was to combine the functional approach with the fundamental.

The theme was chosen in the belief that far to many peace conferences devote all their effort and time to approaching world problems from a political and/or military and therefore superficial angle, excluding any consideration of fundamental mechanisms and motives, and without any regard to the spiritual factor which is supreme.

Apart from the great limitations of the time at our disposal, what other restrictions did we suffer in our enterprise? Let it be admitted right away that if we did not discover the things that do make for peace, we very quickly came across some of the things that do not! Even a negative experience, however, is certainly of eventual positive value.

But I should have thought that the main import of our discussions clarified and emphasised a truth of great moment, namely, that our real enemy now and always is neither in Russia nor in Timbuktu, but is within.

Refusal to accept this inescapable and elementary fact too frequently leads us all—pacifist and non-pacifist alike—to commit the grave error of projecting our inner conflict on to our outer circumstances—i.e., blame everyone and everything rather than "look to thyself."

## What "pay attention" means

Besides these comments, it is directly important to mention the sad injustice done in your columns to one of our chief speakers, Dr. Graham Howe. The trouble arises over the word "love."

As I understand it, this part of Dr. Howe's most important message to us might be summarised simply as follows:

*Don't force yourself to love in a romantic and sentimental way those whom you can't so love. Forget for a while what you think love means and consider what the words "pay attention" signify. Note immediately that the word "pay" is significant, for it involves sacrifice. Sacrifice of preconception, of prejudice and of resistance. Paying attention means giving—and that is the essence of genuine love. Therefore if I cannot love my neighbour (Russian or otherwise) in a romantic and sentimental fashion, and since I should not "love" my neighbour in the way that a possessive parent "loves" a child only when it is "good," it none the less behoves me to pay attention to my neighbour and in this very full and real sense to love him.*

Your correspondent, Herbert Byard, and those who read his letter with sympathy, would therefore be surprised to realise that Dr. Howe said, in different words, substantially the same, as well as a lot more. Roger Page says, "The truly alarming thing about this conference was that . . . most members of it had already made their next enemy. . . ." If any justification of the theme were required it is hard to think of a better one than this.

LESLIE G. D. SMITH  
Acting Director.

National Peace Council,  
144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

## Film monopolists

PROPOS "New Twist on Oliver!" The lords of the American film industry see in the producers of the more imaginative English pictures rivals for the dollars. If these gentry are to obtain a monopoly of the world's film production they must first rid themselves of competition, and we need look for no chivalry in the process. Had "Oliver Twist" been a "flop" no one would have troubled to discover that it was "anti-Semitic." Has it occurred to any of your readers that we need to be concerned about anti-Gentilism?

D. USHER

34 Curzon Road,  
Muswell Hill, London, N.10.

## Fighting figures

IF the population of the UK is, in round figures, 50 millions, and, ignoring unmarried adults, we assume that these 50 millions consist of 12½ million families of four persons each, then the fighting services, £760 millions, costs each family 23s. 6d. per week. And so the Labour Party, by ignoring the principles of George Lansbury, has produced a Budget which may wreck it.

TOM SULLIVAN

81 Knockbreda Park,  
Belfast.

## Readers write about — The National Peace Council Conference : The Church : PPU and Elections

### Archbishop's soothing-syrup

I WONDER how many of your readers heard the BBC news on the morning of April 26, giving details of the Archbishop of York's recent itinerary on the Continent. He seems to combine his episcopal office with voluntary military inspection with regard to health and morale, in-as-much as he reports not only improved conditions since his visit 2½ years ago, but that the officers take great interest in the welfare of the men under their command. If anything, the troops fare better than at home!

Whether his be a conducted tour or not—his words (as a prominent ecclesiastic) will act as "soothing syrup" to the parents of many lads of 18, while possibly saving Shinwell a few headaches! It is up to us as pacifists to insist on the point that, so long as avowed Christians (be they Anglican or Non-conformist) associate themselves with this killing business—so long will our movement be hindered in outlining the basis on which a new world shall be built.

F. G. BLOCKLEY

136 Letchworth Road,  
Western Park, Leicester.

### The Church's dilemma

I WOULD quote the following words from "Towards the Christian Revolution," edited by R. B. Y. Scott, (Gollancz), as an answer to the "Church's dilemma."

"The Marxist challenge is simply, but momentarily, a challenge to Christianity to fulfil its appointed task, to make real its own Gospel. It is a challenge which strikes again the note of solemn warning voiced by Jesus to the chief priests and elders of the people—'The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.' . . ."

"There must be war to the death between real and unreal religion, even if it should cleave organised Christianity in two and destroy all its existing forms. That is the primary task; and it has to be achieved concretely in terms of the Christian denunciation and criticism of the existing structure of society, in its effect upon the lives of men and women."

WILLIAM ATHERTON

27 William Street,  
Lower Ince, Wigan.

### International People's College

YOUR readers may be interested to know that the International People's College Foundation Committee is organising an international summer school for the study of world problems; world government, world citizenship and all its implications at Bunce Court, Otterden, Kent (near Faversham) from July 9 to July 23. Inclusive charge: twelve guineas.

The aim of the Committee is to create, in the near future, in this country, an International People's College similar to those already existing at Elsinore (Denmark) and at Littlehammer (Norway), and the summer school is its first official activity.

Apart from lectures and discussions, the programme includes: concerts, folk-songs, country dancing, art, films, and many attractive excursions.

E. A. de BEVERE (Hon. Sec.)

88 Haydn Avenue,  
Purley, Surrey.

### World Citizenship

IN a recent issue, you kindly inserted a letter from two of my colleagues and me announcing the Pioneer Course in World Citizenship. This is now ready, and all students enrolled to date have just had Part I.

I shall be glad to send to anyone interested copies of the Pilot Pamphlet (6d. post free), or any of the Parts as issued (1s. each), and especially to accept further enrolments for the whole course (11 parts for £1, including postage and tutor's advice, criticism and comments).

RONALD E. GUNDRY

14 Sutherland Avenue,  
West Ealing, W.13.

### Alcohol & tobacco—why not?

I AM unable to resist the temptation to answer those who seek to associate renunciation of alcohol and tobacco with pacifism.

The late Rosika Schwimmer, who as a pacifist ranks with Gandhi and Kagawa, all her life enjoyed alcoholic beverages in moderation and until the last year of her life was a fairly heavy smoker. She also enjoyed good food, physical comfort, smart clothes and beautiful surroundings.

She always opposed the tendency among a good many pacifists to associate peace and pacifism with drabness, dowdiness, self-mortification and a generally sour interior and exterior.

Those who prided themselves on their non-use of alcohol and tobacco she used to remind somewhat impishly that they shared this virtue with Hitler and Mussolini.

EDITH WYNNER

New York.

### Get down to cases

MAY a member of the public be allowed to comment on the published policy of running PPU candidates at the General Election?

I welcome this move as showing that people interested in peace are concerned to do something constructive about it.

My first thought is, however, that not even the positive pledge suggested by Vera Brittain: "And I pledge myself to try to live, both publicly and privately, a life which will make me an instrument of peace," is much help in indicating the precise nature of the PPU programme. In fact the position rather reminds me of the answer a Dundee Moderate canvasser gave to a person who asked what the Moderate programme was. She said, "The Moderates simply want to see everybody happier and much better off."

Clearly we must get down to cases as distinct from generalities. I hope that some of the prospective PPU candidates will be given an opportunity in your pages to suggest what practical steps they will take to ensure peace in the event of their election.

If there is already an agreed policy upon which PPU candidates take their stand I would be very pleased to know what it is because, although I myself am not a PPU member, I really am interested in peace and have come to the conclusion that we need a complete break with the nationalist approach represented by the existing national parties.

Only nationalists could think up "constructive" moves like the Atlantic Pact and the Council of Europe, and I am quite certain that these "magnificent achievements" will fail just as ignominiously and disastrously in procuring peace for humanity as their forerunners the Locarno Pact and the League of Nations failed.

Let's get down to cases and see if we can procure the birth of a fundamentally new political approach.

E. G. MACFARLANE

3 Alpin Road,  
Dundee.

### Calling Channel Islanders

WILL you allow me to ask, through the columns of PN, whether any pacifists have experience or knowledge of life in the Channel Islands? Are there any Friends or other peace-communities living there, what are the general living conditions, what is the attitude of the average islander to war-resisters, and what are the prospects for a pacifist family who would consider settling there with a view to living from the land, that is by market-garden or nursery work?

I am keenly interested in "emigrating" to the Channel Islands, but so far have been unsuccessful in obtaining any first-hand information about them.

If any of your readers could supply me with the particulars I seek, I would gladly refund postage. Also have any pacifists thought of forming a small community to live in the Islands under a self-supporting scheme, so far as that is possible? I might add that we are a country family with nearly 20 years experience of land work, including livestock, so am under no delusions as to the hard work involved in the idea I have suggested.

CHARLES MUTCH

Winnats House, Melton Road,  
Stanton on Wolds, Notts.

### Pact is defensive

THE cause of pacifism is not benefitted by much of the Peace News propaganda—for instance, April 8—"Atlantic Pact an aggressive military alliance."

Every right thinking person knows it is "defensive." Sorry to have to protest against this fake propaganda: do drop it and be honest with your readers.

(Rev.) S. N. VEITCH

The Rectory,

1 Rosebery Avenue,

Harpden, Herts.

(We leave it to our readers to decide whether the writer is being ironical or not.—Ed.)

### Is it "negative?"

I NOTE your endorsement of Vera Brittain's speech at the AGM, and would suggest that, perhaps, in addition to her reason for the "crisis in the PPU," there is the fact that so many of the leaders of our Union will persist in calling Dick Sheppard's pledge a negative one. This may have as much to do with the lack of support for us as the mutual fulminations of certain members, whose enthusiasm for the cause leads them sometimes to express themselves rather more violently than is seemly.

S. ESSEX NEAL

249 Cottingham Road,  
Hull.

## DARE HE DEFINE IT?

MR. ATTLEE recently reminded the Annual Conference of Teachers that "wars start in the minds of men." He then asserted that "it is up to all of you (teachers) to see that peace is built on a sound foundation in the minds of the children."

Dare the Prime Minister define this "sound foundation?" Dare any PPU teacher regard this as a sign that his angle of vision would be regarded as sound?

GEORGE PRICE-JONES

23 Beryl Avenue,  
Hinckley, Leics.

## A word for Nazis

IT has been a matter of surprise to me, as a lover of "all-round" justice, that amidst the spate of congratulatory letters pouring out in the columns of Peace News on its change of attitude towards the Soviet Government there has been no voice raised on behalf of that still bitterly misunderstood and misrepresented section of the German nation, who, while adherents of the National Socialist Party, maintained in their individual lives and official actions, the highest ideals, sense of justice, and feelings of communal responsibility towards their fellow-citizens.

Of this fact I have proof, in letters I have received from an ex-PoW and former NS official, in one of which he sets forth the original aims envisaged by the honest members of his Party, which aims included precisely that "revolt against social inequality and injustice and a humane concern for the underdog," which the editorial of April 22 so unfairly denies to have been a part of National Socialism.

As a pacifist, I realise more and more that this "lumping together" of individuals of nations, parties and classes is one of the main causes of international bitterness and misunderstanding. Finally, the analogy between Nazism and Communism far from being "false," is only too poignantly true. Does not the fact that so large a number of Poland's finest sons and daughters prefer exile to returning to the enslaved (though beloved) country speak for itself?

SYLVIA LLOYD

Rickview,  
Buckland Wharf, Aylesbury.

## Against "Left-Wingism"

IF pacifists are to justify their claims as Peace-Bringers, an essential pre-requisite must certainly be the presentation of their case in an impartial and non-political manner. Class favouritism and "Left-Wingism" are equally out of place. In this connection I suggest that you should cease continual condemnation of National Socialist Germany—now in any case in ruins—and excuses for Communist Russia, which has more than sufficient support already elsewhere.

LENA ROBERTS

9 Mount Beaton,  
Lansdown, Bath.

## To an unknown friend

I AM writing this letter to find the unknown friend who is so kindly sending me regularly Peace News to Germany.

It is now nearly twelve months ago that I left England, after living for two years in the beautiful little village of Merrow, near Guildford, Surrey, as a PoW.

A short time after my return I received the first Peace News and was wondering, because I could never find the sender's name on it. I felt rather sorry not to have the opportunity to thank the unknown friend so I decided to write this letter, with the hope he will read it.

I want him to know how glad I am to get Peace News and that I read each edition with great interest. I am pleased sometimes to see photographs of people I know personally, for instance Miss Vera Brittain, who was one of my guests one day at Merrow.

WILLI HELMDACH

(20b) Braunschweig,  
Rathenastr. 15, Germany.

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, May 26, 1939

Captain Crookshank, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, told Parliament recently that, after the Great War, the British Exchequer credited to the German Clearing Office £20,000 in favour of Krupp for the use of armament patents during the hostilities of 1914-18.

A short time ago the Baptist Peace Fellowship sent a questionnaire to every minister whose name was in the denominational handbook, asking "In case of war would you be: (a) a combatant, (b) a chaplain, (c) a conscientious objector?"

The replies which totalled 233, can be classified as follows: conscientious objectors 141; conscientious objectors with reservations 8; chaplains 46; chaplains to COs or unpaid 7; combatants or chaplains 7; combatants 1; ambulance service 6; YMCA workers 2; ARP warden 1; ministers of religion 4.

Ten offered no indication because they were over age, etc.

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# PACIFISM IN AUSTRIA

Hopeful revival of the movement

REPORTS from Austria, a country which should have been evacuated by the troops of the four Powers soon after the collapse of Nazism, gives a very satisfactory picture of the revival of pacifist activities.

## Australians will combat war propaganda

A PEACE Action Committee, recently formed in Australia, held its first public meeting in the Melbourne Assembly Hall on April 26. Among the speakers were G. Anthony Bishop, Editor of The Peacemaker.

The following statement and resolution was prepared for presentation to the meeting:

This public meeting, sponsored by representatives of organisations and private citizens opposed to war, affirms that:

(1) There is urgent need for public action to prevent a third world war, which would inevitably lead to appalling loss of life, and the destruction of our spiritual values, civil liberties and material standards of living.

(2) It is the duty of all people of goodwill, by public expression of their views and by all legitimate means within their power, to give effective support to the United Nations, governments, organisations and parliamentary representatives who are striving in the interests of peace.

(3) Publication should be encouraged of facts concerning the causes of war, the problems and the aims of peoples of other countries, so as to assist settlement of international differences peaceably.

It is therefore RESOLVED—

(a) To work for closer co-ordination of action to stop the drift towards war.

(b) To publicise facts concerning international affairs in an effort to foster understanding among peoples, and to combat propaganda that war is inevitable.

(c) To support the Peace Action Committee in its programme towards this end.

## PPU COUNCILLORS RE-ELECTED

TWO PPU members were re-elected as Councillors in Birmingham's municipal elections. They were Mrs. Ruby Starkie, for Oldbury and Mrs. Annie Lennard, JP, for Smethwick. Harry Hilditch stood for Perry Barr. Although he lost, he succeeded in increasing the Labour vote by 29 per cent.

All three Birmingham candidates were Labour.

In Newcastle-on-Tyne the PPU, the ILP and some sympathisers put up a "No More War" candidate (Alan Morley) for the Byker Ward, who secured 200 votes.

The April issue of the OFG Nachrichten, the monthly bulletin of the Austrian Peace Society (Friedensgesellschaft), tells us about the re-establishment of the Austrian Peace Council, the former office of which was raided and plundered by the Gestapo in 1938.

On April 8 this year, thirteen Austrian Peace Organisations decided at a meeting held in the Friends' Centre in Vienna, to revive the Peace Council.

This meeting re-affirmed a memorandum which had been drawn up two years before, protesting against the Austrian Government's intention to create a conscript army after the evacuation of Austria by the Allied Powers.

The protest was signed by two Deans of the Vienna University (Dr. H. Thirring and Dr. Verdross) four other University professors and several prominent personalities. It says:

### Demand for neutrality

"We reject the creation of a new army and specially the introduction of conscription... A return to the old military tradition is apt to disturb peaceful relations with our neighbours and may... raise the suspicions of the occupying powers... Nobody should be coerced to render military service..."

It demands that Austria's integrity should be protected by security troops of the United Nations, and that this international force "should be kept small, as its power would not be based on its fighting strength but on the authority of the United Nations."

"The people of Austria," it proceeds, "wish to obtain the recognition of the country's absolute neutrality after the Swiss model."

"The establishment of an international police force would give a lead to other countries. The alternative solution, the creation of a new national army, would involve heavy financial burdens and its existence would depend on the military assistance of other Powers, and, on the other hand, impose an obligation of rendering assistance to them."

Our Austrian friends are to be congratulated on their efforts under circumstances of great difficulty, to maintain the high pacifist tradition of Bertha von Suttner.

It may be added that if any readers of PN wish to keep in touch with their activities, the Bulletin of the "Friedensgesellschaft" may be received from the Secretariat: Vienna, VIII, Schönbornergasse 1.

# This round-the-world flight will be for peace

THIS summer early in July a DC-4 plane will take off from Bradley Field, Connecticut, U.S.A., on pioneering world flight. The passengers will be ordinary Americans seeking to build a bridge of understanding between the youth of their country and the youth of the nations they visit.

Most people in other lands have gained a distorted picture of America through her military establishments, Hollywood

films, travelling businessmen and wealthy tourists. In a small way this goodwill flight will try to correct that picture by providing an opportunity for average Americans to shake hands with the common people of Asia, Africa and Europe.

The World Flight is sponsored by Youth Argosy, a non-profit educational agency. The tour will be conducted by Monroe and Isabel Smith, founders of American Youth Hostels.

The 30,000-mile trip is scheduled to last for two months, beginning about July first. This means about one week in the air and eight weeks on the ground.

The chartered DC-4 will depart from Bradley Field, near Hartford, making stops in Denver and San Francisco to pick up passengers.

There is no rigid schedule, but a minimum of two weeks will be spent in Japan.

The following tentative itinerary spans three continents and touches a forth: Honolulu, Midway Islands, Wake, Guam, Manila, Tokyo, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Bangkok, Rangoon, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Teheran, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Cairo, Athens, Rome, Geneva, Paris, Frankfurt, Copenhagen, London, Shannon (Ireland), Reykjavik (Iceland), Gander (Newfoundland) and Bradley Field.

### Not conventional tourists

In contrast to conventional tourists, members of the goodwill tour will be more interested in meeting people than in seeing sights, although they will not ignore the latter.

One of the central aims is to show a concern for the youth of all lands. When the plane lands in Tokyo or Bombay or Jerusalem, the Argonauts will not be taken to expensive hotels. Instead they will mount their bicycles and visit the homes of youth and youth leaders.

They will see places seldom seen by ordinary tourists. They will meet with students, visit reconstruction projects and engage in other activities which will make for understanding and intercultural exchange.

Anyone who has a genuine desire to promote goodwill and understanding is eligible to join the World Flight.

Good health and the willingness to live simply is essential. There will be a trained nurse aboard. Sleeping bags are carried as individual equipment. Ability to ride a bicycle is desirable, but not necessary. By chartering a special plane, the cost for the entire summer (including transportation, food, overnight lodging and leadership) is under £400.

Anyone interested in this should write Ernest Lefever, Yale Divinity School, New Haven 11, Conn.

## GERMANS TOLD: "RUN RISKS FOR PEACE"

"IT is Germany's true mission to be a bridge between East and West," said Prof. Sigmund Schulze, German pacifist and former chaplain to the Kaiser, in the course of a recent lecture to the Duisburg Young People's Cultural Christian Fellowship.

The people of Eastern Europe, he said, had endured a hard fate from the time when Czar Peter introduced the earlier dictatorship in the Middle Ages. Therefore the revolutionary outcome was more radical than in any other country of Europe. In contrast the USA had been a place of refuge for people persecuted on account of their creed or belief. Here they drew up their own liberal constitution and, after some difference between South and North, lived in peace.

While Russia had had years of famine, the USA by means of her wise action had come to prosperity.

Because today policy was largely determined by economics, political rivalry and sprung up between the two countries.

"How can a collision be prevented?" asked Prof. Schulze.

By way of an answer he emphasised the personal responsibility of every individual on his part to help reconciliation. History had proved that friendly relations between East and West were possible. Prof. Schulze instanced the peaceful cultural work of German settlers in the East and the appreciation by Germans of the works of Tolstoy and Dostoevski, commenting on the fact that Tolstoy had been the favourite author of Berlin workers in the period following the first world war.

He called for the running of big risks in securing peace and for the setting up of world government.

FOOTNOTE: The part played by Dr. Sigmund Schulze in the Agadir crisis of 1912 is told by Geo. M. L. Davies in an article in the June PPU Journal, now on sale, 5d. post free from Peace News.

## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall: "Britain's Foreign Policy"; Dr. Haden Guest; National Peace Council.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens: "Indian Philosophy"; Robert Horniman; Central London PPU Group.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7 p.m. Hope House, 61, Peter Street: "Breaking the East-West Tension"; Dr. Alex Wood; Labour Peace Fellowship.

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Hall: Public Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

### Saturday, May 28

LANCASTER: 3.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, adjacent Castle Station, Lake-lane Area QM; Sybil Morrison; Secretary: John Bullough, The Orchard, Riedale, Grange-over-Sands. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, For Council Meeting.

CROUCH HILL: 3 p.m. The Broadway; Open-air meeting; Hornsey PPU Group.

LONDON: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 49 Uxbridge Road, West London Area Council; Rev. Clifford H. Macquire; For.

### Sunday, May 29

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Speaker: Albert Tomlinson; Stoke Newington PPU Group.

MANCHESTER: 7 p.m. Platt Fields; Open-air meeting; Manchester Central PPU Group.

### Tuesday, May 31

LONDON, N.16: 7.45 p.m. 79 Lordship Park; Hilda von Klenze: "The German Peace Movement during the past 15 Years"; Stoke Newington Group. PPU.

### Thursday, June 2

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

### Friday, June 3

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; address and discussion; Central London PPU Group.

### Saturday, June 4

WORTHING: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 47 Downview Road, West Worthing; Area Conference for West Sussex; speaker: Hugh Faulkner. For.

### Sunday, June 5

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Speaker: Jack Sutherland; Stoke Newington PPU Group.

### Thursday, June 9

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

## PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly

To M..... (Newsagent's name)

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.....

Note to Newsagent—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 3d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERM: Cash with order. 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6, extra). Please don't send stamps, in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

### ACCOMMODATION

PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMAN urgently requires unfurnished flat, London area. £2 10s. weekly. Willing purchase lease, fittings, fixtures, etc. Bankers, solicitors references. Box 59.

VACANT DATES for 4-berth caravan at Bowleaze Cove, Weymouth June 18 to 25, Sept. 17 onwards also 6-berth May 28 to June 4, Aug. 6 to 13 and 20 to Sept. 3, Sept. 10 to 17. Gabe, Thornford, Shelbourne, Dorset.

BEXHILL-ON-SEA, comfortable vegetarian Guest House. Moderate terms. Mrs. Cates, The White House, Belle Hill.

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AN OFFICE to let, with all services, conveniently situated for all parts of London. Vacant from May 30. Rent 25s. a week. Apply the Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

SEASIDE HOLIDAY accommodation for Vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

COUNTRY COTTAGE wanted up to about 1,000, cash down. Large garden or piece of ground. Box 60.

### EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons, 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

FOR SALE, dismantled wooden hungalow £175. Particulars from Wright, Moorlands, Pensilva, Liskeard, Cornwall.

WANTED, COPY of "Man's Mortality" by Michael Arlen. L. Gonggryp, 16 Norland Square, W.11.

### LITERATURE, &c.

BOOKS REVIEWED or advertised in Peace News and every other book or pamphlet now in print can best be obtained from the Friends Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

### BIRTH

RENDALL DAVIES. On Wednesday, 18 May, 1949, at 1 Greenwood Gardens, London, N.13, to Beryl and Trevor Rendall Davies, a second daughter—Megan.

### PERSONAL

PACIFIST, 23 years, desires correspond German girl living in England. Box 61.

IF YOU would support candidates for Parliament pledged to renounce war, rebuild Britain, and reform financial system, please write to the Liberal Socialist League, Box 30, Peace News, Blackstock Road, N.4.

LONELY? JOIN Friendship Circle. Details 71d. Secretary, 34 Honeywell Road, London, S.W. 11.

WALKER PRINTING Service, 175 Fleet Street, E.C.4, invites enquiries for quality printing—books, catalogues, pamphlets, magazines, colour and commercial. Estimates prove good printing costs no more than the mediocre.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

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HEALTHY VEGETARIAN stenographer, permanent staff, West End. Box 57.

### MISCELLANEOUS

ECONOMY LABELS for re-using envelopes, etc., large size, attractively printed, peace slogans. 50 ls., 100 ls. 9d., 1,000 ls., all post free, from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lanebury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

TRAVELLERS, SALESMEN are needed to sell Endsleigh Cards. 1949 Christmas Range shortly available, a larger selection of attractive and distinctive designs at keen prices. Usual commission offered. Endsleigh Cards help provide the funds to continue Peace News. Help and suggestions warmly welcomed. Please send details to the Manager, Endsleigh Cards, c/o Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Essential Reading for Active Pacifists

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## IN GERMANY TODAY

SEGREGATION of Germans is still a sore point. Some of this is due to no regulations but to an almost total separation of the occupying forces from the better sections of the German people. But some of it does come from stupid and arrogant occupation policy. The Jim-Crowding of Germans is shown by my own experience in a number of hotels and other stopping places where American personnel are housed, even where the spirit is otherwise fine. You see a washroom door, and on it is a sign: "No Germans." Or sometimes "Americans Only." In heavens name, why? No cleaner people than the Germans exist on this earth.

No one can complain that the Americans in Germany are personally ungenerous. All kinds of movements for German youngsters get their support. More than \$30,000 was raised among them last year with which to buy shoes for German children in Berlin alone. It is one of the annoying things about a military occupation to learn that generosity of this kind is not enough. A lot more is required before Allied success can be given real momentum. There is need for a programme that looks more at Germany and less at Russia; there is need for a better-trained police army, of more mature men; above all, there is need for a transfer of authority to civilian guidance, not only from far-off Washington, but on the spot.

—Devere Allen, Editor of Worldover Press.

## PSU FACE STAFF SHORTAGE

The Stepney Pacifist Service Unit, whose work among "problem families" in the East End of London has attracted world-wide attention, is holding a special general meeting on Sunday, May 29, to consider the future of the Unit in the light of the serious shortage of personnel.

The meeting is to be held at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1., at 3 p.m. All pacifists interested in the service aspect of the movement are invited to attend.

DURING the past twelve months the Stepney PSU has had much difficulty in finding suitable full-time members to keep the unit up to efficient working strength. Problem family casework—the Unit's main activity—makes great demands on those taking part in it. The cramped quarters in which the members live and work and the small salary offered prevent some who might be attracted to the work from joining.

It is impossible to do problem family casework effectively with a small unit and rather than do the work inadequately the Management Committee feels it might be better for the families, other local social service agencies and the reputation which PSU has gained, to close down the Unit as it is now constituted and then for those interested to see what other service might be carried on in Stepney in the pacifist name.

In its statement the Committee indicates that there is little prospect of getting full-time members of the right quality unless a greatly increased income made it possible to offer higher salaries and obtain more convenient quarters.

The time factor now militates against the successful continuity of the work but should anyone be interested in full-time service with the Unit he or she is urged to communicate immediately with the Secretary at 6/355 The Highway, E.1.

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# CO-OPERATION IS STILL INTERNATIONAL

## Pacifist efforts by Guildswomen

"PEACE cannot be secured or maintained by means of a large Army, Navy and Air Force," Mrs. Cecily Cook, OBE, Secretary of the English Co-operative Women's Guild, warned a peace meeting in Stratford, London, on Monday, May 23.

People are wrong in seeking to feel secure by being able to counter any force which may come against them.

"We stand for mutual concession, without which no adjustment of differences is possible. We stand for peace through co-operation."

Mrs. Cook recalled the meeting in Prague last year of the International Co-operative Women's Guild, which, despite the all too evident political differences, did not split as many other international bodies had done.

"There is still an international Co-operative movement and a chance of co-operation between East and West. I am hoping that through the International Co-operative Alliance we may be able to lead the world in an understanding that will solve some of the problems of today."

After pointing out that the women of the world have a common interest in peace, children, and homelife, she said, "It may be Governments that make wars, but they cannot come if the people do not wage them."

## Britain as a bomber base

A PEACE resolution passed by the Co-operative Women's Guild at their Annual Congress at Margate calls for

A reduction of expenditure on armaments,

Control of Atomic Energy,

Refusal of the use of Britain as a base for foreign troops and bombing planes,

Establishment of trading relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Prominent among supporters of this resolution and another calling for the repeal of Conscription, was Mrs. Joy Shea, of West Ealing, a member of the Peace Pledge Union.

She protested at Britain being used as a base for foreign troops and bombers. It meant that we were not doing our best for the United Nations, nor for reconciliation between East and West.

The Conscription resolution passed on May 17 reads as follows:

"This Congress deplores the continuance of conscription and urges the repeal of the Act as soon as possible, thus releasing men for productive work and enabling the four-year plan to be realised. It further urges that young conscripts under 21 shall not be sent to serve abroad."

The first speaker was Mrs. Downes, of the Carpenters Park Branch. Her Guild wished the Conscription Act to be repealed. They felt their sons were just wasting their time in the Forces, the conscripts got into the habit of doing nothing, which made them lazy, and that in any case all available man-power was needed in the factories.

"Shortage of labour is often given as a reason for lack of goods, why not use this source of labour productively?"

The Heston branch delegate said that the

mothers wanted the boys at home. The two years between 18 and 20 were a bad break in youth. She concluded by claiming that Conscription was useless in scientific warfare.

### Their sons are changed

The Shepherds Bush delegate stated that mothers were finding their sons morally changed and restless on their return to civil life.

The South Hammersmith delegate pointed out that it was impossible for us to condemn others for using compulsion whilst we ourselves were using it.

The Liverpool delegate spoke as a Youth Leader. She felt we were losing our heritage of freedom. "Volunteers with the pioneering spirit would make far better soldiers than half-hearted conscripts."

Mrs. Carter spoke for Southchurch Guild. She stressed that mothers were appalled by the waste of Conscription. They believed that all that the young men were being taught at present could be fitted into six weeks training which would not create the present serious disruption at the start of their working life.

The Hornchurch delegate, Mrs. Stevens, said that Conscription was a war-time measure and that we should now repeal it or else we would be losing our freedom.

Mrs. Davies spoke against the proposal to repeal the Conscription Act. She said that as we had a working class Government we could trust it to do the right thing. Conscription was democratic as everyone's son did their turn, not just the poor man's son. And as for freedom, how much freedom would we have without Conscription to defend it.

Mrs. Brown, of Stockton, the only other speaker who defended Conscription, said that she was against the resolution because it was a criticism of the Government, which we should support.

### Make the first gesture

The West Ealing delegate, Mrs. Shea, said that we should be supporting the United Nations Organisation instead of concentrating on our own arms. We should establish the fact that we do not accept war as a solution of obstacles. If we repealed the Conscription Act it would be a peaceful gesture. If real peace was to be attained someone had to make the first gesture, why should it not be us. She finished by saying that the question of Conscription was tied up with international goodwill and peace.

The last speaker was Mrs. Woods of Cheadleholme who stressed the fact that Co-operators stood for peace. They stood for principles before political expediency. We do support the Labour Government, she insisted, but we stand for peace and international goodwill.

## ATOMIC RESEARCH PURGE

STRONG protests are being made in U.S. scientific circles at the decision to institute a loyalty oath for students applying to the Atomic Energy Commission for research fellowships.

The Atomic Energy Commission recently granted two fellowships to students who were alleged to be Communists and as a result the Commission's Chairman, Mr. David Lillenthal has come in for severe criticism from Congress.

Critics of the new regulation, says the Observer's Washington correspondent, point out that the fellowships should be granted entirely on the grounds of scientific ability since they are concerned only with research into peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Sybil Morrison's

## CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"Theirs not to make reply,  
Theirs not to reason why,  
Theirs but to do and die!"

—Tennyson.

MAY 21, 1949 and the eighteen-year-olds were registering for National Service. They didn't take much notice of me on my "soap box"—there was no special reason why they should, for I was not appealing to them, but to the adult people of this country, who by their apathy are partly responsible for the conscription of these boys.

National Service, conscription for war, has been accepted with very little demur, and for those who believe in the method of war there is, after all, a case to be made for being prepared. Modern war is total war and total war cannot be waged without man power; conscription of man power is the logical outcome of reliance upon war as an instrument of national foreign policy.

### Sheep-like obedience

These young men are registering because they are told to do so; in this era following upon the second world war fought to preserve individual freedom, there is more sheep-like obedience to order than ever. Queue here, queue there; fill in this form, fill in that; register here, answer to your name there; your country may need you—yours not to reason why!

Eighteen years old. It is not very long to have lived, and during most of the preceding years boys and girls have been habituated to doing what their teachers or their parents tell them to do, because teachers and parents, having had much longer experience of life and living, are supposed to know better than the young what is good for them!

Two or three years later and the idea that the "grown-up" knows better begins to lose quite a lot of its weight; at eighteen childhood is still near, and that idea still acceptable. It is these children, not long out of school, voteless boys, who are to be taught how to kill and how to abandon their reasoning powers to automatic obedience to military orders.

### Why the struggle is hard

It would seem as though the vast majority of adults had also given up reasoning, and it is because of this tired, pathetic acceptance of the inevitability of war in people all over the world that our task is so much harder.

War has become a habit, just as obeying orders will become a habit with these conscripts, and in any case it is easier to float with the stream than struggle to get out of it. Members of the Peace Pledge Union are pledged to the struggle; we have realised the evil and the futility and have taken our stand against the stream, but we dare not turn aside from those caught in it and let them be swept away.

These young men have the right to register as conscientious objectors, but very few of them will do so; some because they don't know about it, others because that would be "shirking," others because it is not worth the trouble of striking out against the stream. If they are to be saved from bitter waste of their energies and their youth; if they are to be useful citizens instead of automatons with no conscience except that presented to them by their government, war must be abolished. We must restore their freedom and give them back their right to life through our campaign against war; only by abolishing war can they and the world be saved for peace.

The current issue of FREEDOM includes a 4-page illustrated supplement dedicated to the life and works of Marie Louise Berneri and the painter, Jankel Adler.

Articles by Gerald Brenan, Ethel Mannin, Herbert Read, Reg Reynolds, George Woodcock, etc.

Obtainable, price 4d., from:  
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